

THE  
CHARACTER  
OF THE  
PROTESTANTS  
OF  
IRELAND,

Impartially set forth in a  
LETTER,  
In Answer to Seven QUERIES;

Original,  
Humour,  
Interest,  
Their Losses,  
Present Condition,  
Apprehensions, and  
Resolutions.

With Remarks upon the great Charge *England* is like  
to be at with those People, and the Destruction of  
that Kingdom by Famine, if not prevented.

L O N D O N,  
Printed for Dorman Newman, at the King's Arms in the  
Poultry, MDCLXXXIX.

THE  
CHARACTER  
OF THE  
PROTESTANTS  
OF  
IRELAND

Impartially set forth in a  
LETTER  
In Answer to Seven QUERIES

Original  
Honour  
Interest  
Their Loss

Protestant  
Catholic  
Resolution

John Brown  
London  
1712

THE  
 CHARACTER  
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 PROTESTANTS  
 IN  
 IRELAND,

Impartially set forth in a LETTER, &c.

SIR,

THat I have not sooner performed my Promise, and your Commands, has been the difficulty of your Injunctions; which were, That I should give a full Account of these *Seven*

*Particulars*:

First, the *Original*. Secondly, the *Humour*. Thirdly, the *Interest*. Fourthly, the *Losses*. Fifthly, the present *Condition*. Sixthly, the *Apprehensions*. And lastly, the *Resolutions* for the future *Settlement* of the *Gentlemen of Ireland*.

Since I undertook the Work, I thought my self obliged to be as perfect in it, as some few Weeks would admit; but when I had spent some, and almost as many as I designed for the whole, I found my Weeks must be turned into Months, and my Enquiry in *London* reach to *Bristol*, and other parts of the Kingdom; for that I found such different Accounts even in mat-



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In Answer to Seven Queries  
LETTER

Original,  
Honest,  
Intelligent,  
Their Loyalty,  
Present Condition,  
Appropriation, and  
Resolutions.

With Remarks upon the great Address of the  
to the House of Commons, and the  
the King's Speech, in the year  
1760.

B. W.



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ter of Fact, that I could not well depend upon any thing: And to say the truth, at my first onset I was much discouraged by the diversity of *Characters* I received from them, both of things and themselves; which after some time, I found might easily be reconciled, as you will find in the sequel of this Discourse. But to detain you no longer, in setting forth my Conduct in this *Irish* Travel, I shall come to your Particulars:

*First*, As to the Original of those, we most improperly call *British Protestants*, who are of all Nations, and might be rather, with St. James, *the twelve Tribes scattered through the Earth*. I have discoursed with Dutch, French, Germans, Scotch, *Welsh*, and with as many born in our foreign Plantations, *New-England*, *Virginia*, *Barbadoes*, &c. And to complete this diversity among them, those of our own Nation being of different Counties, are so in their *Humours*, as we know by experience among our selves.

Now these *Gentlemen of Ireland* being composed, or rather compact of such variety, I do not wonder, as most do, that they are so dis-joint in their Affections and Representations of each other. A common Calamity is more equally considered by indifferent Persons, than by them who lie under it; for though it be common in the Affliction, yet it is particular in the several Attempts of each to get out of it; and the frailty of our Nature is apt to lead us beyond our Charity to our Neighbour, when we want it our selves; a Fault no ways to be extenuated, yet too common, and I fear too much the practice of some among these *Gentlemen*: But I have digressed. These several Nations and People I before mentioned, are such as they call

call *New Interest-Men*, and came into *Ireland* by and since *Cromwel's* Conquest, after the *Rebellion of Forty One*. These Men, though of such differing Interests among themselves, yet are a joint Body and separate from the other Interest of the Protestant Party of that Kingdom, which they call the *Old Interest*; and they are the Off-spring of the several *Soldiers* and *Adventurers*, since *Strongbow's* going into that Kingdom. These Men, it seems, thought their *Interest* infallible; no questioning of their *Title*, because it was the Forfeitures of several *Rebellions* in the time of *Papery*, and of that in *Queen Elizabeth's Reign*, when the *Irish* call'd in the *Spaniards*: But the *Rebellion of Forty One* they palliate with several Concessions and *Articles* made, though they were, when the *Irish Saint* (the then Duke of *York*) stood their Champion, found frivolous. But these *Gentlemen* of the *Old Interest*, I find like our *Welsh* here, value themselves above the other they call *Cromwelists*; and on the other hand, the *Cromwelists* look on them as mungreliz'd by the *Irish*; among whom, many of them have match'd, and therefore in *Cromwel's* time not much trusted; though now, I think, the *New* and *Old Interest* unite against the common Enemy: I mean without the least respect of Consanguinity or Affinity, the *Irish Papist* being odious to them both.

Thus in short (for I presume you expect not the *Genealogy* of the *Protestants* of *Ireland*) I have given you the present Interest and Place from whence they derive themselves.

Secondly, For the Humour and Disposition of the People, I find them in their Religion much like us of *England*, of different Persuasions, yet not in any pro-



portion with us for Dissenters: The North of *Ireland* being generally *Scotch*, have most *Presbyterians*, but in other parts of the Kingdom *Dissenters* are thin; insomuch that in some is Counties not one Dissenting Meeting: And however they use one another in their Characters, they shame us in one thing, that is, in giving respect to their *Clergy*.

They are of a generous temper, and even now in their Wants, may be seen to have been a *People* of great Hospitality, lived in great Plenty, and therefore the more unfit to undergo Want; and if my Observation be right, are apter to starve than complain, and too haughty to undertake that they call a mean way of earning their living. I have discoursed with some that were but Farmers of Ten or Twenty pounds sterling a year, whom I questioned how it chanced they were not gone in the Army for *Ireland*; their answer was, They could get no Command, and they knew not how to live upon Six-pence a day; but if they could have of their own Country to command them, (for none else they think will fight,) they would go over Volunteers. This *Spanish* Humour I find in them; but that which nourished it, is that which the *Spaniard* wants, plenty of Provisions both for Back and Belly. Such a *Tenant*, as I mentioned before, of Ten pounds a year, lives better than a *Free-holder* in *England* of an *Hundred pounds* a year Estate; keeps a couple of good Geldings in his Stable, good Drink always in his Celler, and better clad than our *Yeomen* of *Kent*. This may serve to shew the Humour and Disposition of the People, and the cause of it; only this I must add, That I believe them a very stout and warlike People, which is occasioned by their being like the *Hungarians*, in continual

tinual Action; the *Irish* being upon the least occasion up in *Arms*, and running out *Tories*, which the *English* are in continual hazard of, and as furiously pursue. Having heard much talk of these *Tories*, I made particular enquiry into the Nature and *Practice* of that sett of Men, which I shall give you a short account of, as they have stood since *Cromwel's* Conquest; for no farther I shall look back in all my Relation of *Ireland*.

These Men, after the reducing of *Ireland*, and the Lord *Musgrave* (since Earl of *Clancarty*) laying down *Arms*, had no Commission, and therefore called *Tories*. They came not in upon *Musgrave's* Articles, because there were no *Terms* for any guilty of *Murder*, of which most of them that staid out *Tories* were in *Cromwel's* Government, they were so hunted, and the *Irish* that were under Protection so punished for any Robbery they committed in the Parish where it was done, that they were soon destroyed: But upon every Alteration in *England*, some ran out, as if they were immediately to recover the Kingdom: And so they did upon King *Charles* the *Second's* Restauration, expecting, as they then gave out, to be restored the sooner for being found in their defence against the *English*, who they then hoped would be judged the greater *Rebels*; so after, upon the *Dutch War*, several got up, insomuch that the *Farmers* of the *Excise* had Abatements for the Ravage these made in the Country hindering Affairs.

There was one *Redmond Hanly*, that kept out several years, though great Attempts of the Army continually made to take him; and another in *Munster*, called *Colonel Poore*, with many others, in all Parts of the

the Kingdom, who kept the *English* in continual Action, and to me seems a Reason for making them bold and good *Soldiers*, and most serviceable against the *Irish*, as having been their former Masters, and Conquerors: And *Trogus Pompeius* relates a Story of a Country, which being over-run with Slaves, was not reduced, till laying aside other Arms than those of Chastisement, their Masters reminded them of their servile Fears, and so at last regained their Empire over them, as their ancient Masters, not Competitors of the Field.

And I find many of *Oliver's* Soldiers alive, and free enough to go against the *Irish*, if they had but *English* Commanders of their own Countrey; they complaining much of some that are sent over, yet modestly expressed; for I find them of a quiet and obedient Disposition.

*Thirdly*, For their Interest, I find them unanimous for their Present *Majesties*: and I have wondred in so great a number, as I have personally, and by proxy conversed with, that I should never find but *four Men*, so much as scrupling our present Happiness, and of them three *Clergy-Men*.

The Character, I first gave you of their Original, is *Argument* enough for their Affection to our present Government, since they are stripp'd of all by the late King, of whom they relate such Things, as are not fit to come among humane, much less *Christian Ears*.

If the *English*, or *Protestants* of *Ireland* are considered in their personal or real *Estates*, their Interest that way, I find to be thus: Few of them had any thing in *England*, the Temptation of buying Land cheap, and Rents better payed than in *England*, made them lay out all there, and consequently few monied Men  
among



among them. Those that did not purchase, laid out in Improvements. *Plato* I do not find they so much affected, as we in *England*; yet few Families without some; Jewels were less in use among them. Those of personal Estates had generally great Stocks of *Cattel*; and Land being cheap, the Country for these late *Years* was over-burthened with them.

But that which is scarce to be credited in so plentiful a Country, situate beyond any Place in the *Christian* World for *Trade*, there should be no *Merchants*: In all my Enquiry, I cannot find one that may bear the Character of a compleat Merchant. They tell me, there were two or three in *Dublin* of universal Trade; but growing rich, took Honours, and purchased Lands; since them there appears nothing but Factors, and Home-bred-men, like our Planters in the *West-Indies*: And this is to me the Reason, why *Ireland* is so contemptible in its *Trade*, that might otherwise be the most flourishing Empire in *Europe*, there being so few Dealers resident in that Kingdom. The Interest of those fled from thence, is comprehended under those already named in Stock and real Estate; and that brings me to your *fourth Head*, the *Losses* of the *Protestants* of *Ireland*.

And here I find both you and I have been not only mistaken, but prejudicate. The evil Characters of some, and too light Behaviour of others, gives, I confess, too great occasion of censuring that People: But if ten righteous Men would have prevented *Sodom's* Condemnation, many tens of ill Men should not condemn a Kingdom, where there is more hundreds deserving.

Fourthly,

*Fourthly*, Their *Losses*, and deplorable Condition, seems exceeding any modern Account; and the more unhappy, since 'tis scarce perceived. We pitied the *French* Fugitives more than these, that are our *Bone* and our *Flesh*; and the Reason seems to be, that every one of them was distinguished by Garb and Speech, but these from *Ireland* are by neither, and so in the Croud not discerned; nor shall we hear them complain, for the Reasons I have before mentioned; but to come to their *Losses*. I need not tell you what the List given into the *House of Commons* mentions, to which some have made Exceptions, that the Returns are favourable; but that will not be believed by those, that discourse the *Gentlemen* concerned in them; a more derogating Temper, I confess, I never saw among a People, not in the least inclinable to favour one another. I am loth to say, it is giving most of them the Lye, to have honourable Thoughts of their best Men: But I would not make so general a Reflexion, for I have met with some worthy and intelligent Men among them; and such as complain of some busie Men, whose Employments of Agency and Solliciting, gave them the Opportunity and Practice of characterizing Men, in which they were too free, as well as faulty in possessing great Men with: but to return. The *Losses* of the Nobility and Gentry, were most in their real Estates; few of them had *Money*, and not considerable in *Plate* or *Jewels*; they that had any of the three, did in time send it over for *England*.

That which I take to be as considerable, or more than the *real* Estates, is the loss of *personal* Estates in *Stock*; and that is vastly beyond our common Estimation, and will, perhaps, be so in Acceptation:  
But

But what I shall relate, I have such good Authority for, that I question not the Truth. It is usual in that Kingdom for a Tenant that pays but *twenty pounds a year*, to have from an hundred to two hundred Head of black Cattel on it; and for others that pay not *two hundred pounds a year* Rent, to make more than three hundred a year of their Wool. I should exceed the bounds of a *Letter*, to enumerate all on this Head: but upon the whole, at a moderate Computation, it is believed they have lost in Stock, and other personal Estates, to the value of more than *eight millions Sterling*, allowing but an *hundred pounds Sterling* for a *Family*: Now these Men are more to be pitied than they who are out of their Lands, for that will be found again, (though they believe of little value;) but those that have lost their Stocks, are utterly ruin'd without hopes of Reparation; and under this Qualification, they compute more than *eighty thousand Families*, one half of which are still in *Ireland*, more to be lamented than those that are here. I mention nothing of the Clergy's Livings, nor Men of civil Employments, because they come under the head of *Free-holders* being for Life; however it is worse with them than Gentlemen of Estates, in regard they can make no disposition to purchase Bread, as those of Lands may.

*Fifthly*, But now to your fifth Query; what their present Condition, and that, after what has before been related, must be bad, and I doubt worse than we imagine; for they tell you, most of them came over when they could bring little with them, but the *Clothes* on their *Backs*; they have been here some *ten Months*, and most *six Months*; they acknowledge the Charity of *London* great, but say little of the other *Parts* of



the Kingdom; the whole is said not to exceed thirty thousand Pounds: And a greater Gift than that, they say, was offered by them in Ireland, viz. thirty thousand Biefs to be given to the distressed of London, when burnt; of this a Reverend Prelate of theirs hath some testimonial by him, his Grace the Archbishop of Tuam, who is among them of universal Esteem, and in which he is singular. Now this publick Charity is not, as we thought, dispersed among all Gentry, as well as others, but only to the Poor, such as had scarce Stocks in the Kingdom, but were poor Mechanicks, Husband-men, and Labourers.

Some of the Clergy have also support out of it; and although they that are intrusted with the disposing this Money, lengthen it out as much as possible, giving to most not above ten Shillings a month; yet they say about nineteen thousand pounds of the Money is already gone, and yet all complain, as if there were not an equal distribution; but I find little ground for it, only one or two Men are a scandal to the rest; and had they been left out, I believe the noise you heard in the Country would not have reached so far.

Now all this while, the Men of greatest Quality, and, perhaps, of greatest want, are put to their shifts; but they most of all, whose Estates lay in Stock, for that they can have no Credit, there being no expectation for their Recovery: When I think of these Men, I must confess my Heart aches, they are the most miserable Men that have been among us, this Age having lived plentifully, worth thousands, bred to nothing but rural Matters, know not how to get Bread by any other Employment, and so turned naked into the World, when they were going, by their Age, out  
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of it; (I wish many of them go not silently away for want of Bread;) and yet under the Charge this Kingdom lies, maintaining the Arms of three Kingdom's Forces in *Holland*, and a great Navy at Sea, it is not easie to find out an expedient to help them. I have been in discourse with some of them; and putting the case to one, Whether they could reasonably expect we should raise Money for them by a *Tax*, since by Collection it comes to so little, and is indeed the worst way of raising Money; for that only the Good Man, not the Rich, pays it any farther than he is charitable; whereas a *Tax* imposeth according to a Man's Ability. To this I was answered, That they did believe it reasonable: And more, That it was profitable for us to do it. I was surprized with the Assertion, and desired to hear his Reasons for it, which were as follows: First he affirms there were *forty thousand Families* fled from *Ireland* into *England*; that they had one with another spent at least, *twenty pound* a Family, which amounts to *Eight hundred thousand pounds sterling*: This was so much added to the Stock of *England*, and therefore deserved some return, since it was there all; and had so much Money been spent in *Holland*, they would have considered a distressed People that had done it. He illustrated the Discourse with *Mercantine Observations*, of which he was Master, and I foreign too, and therefore can no more relate than understand. His Notions seem'd reasonable, and all terminated in this, That *England* has had in *Specie, Money, and Plate*, more from them than ever was brought in clear, and resting in the Kingdom in *one year*; for that he accounted all theirs was lodg'd here, and took nothing out of the Kingdom: And when I objected,

that our *Lead, Tin, Wotton-Manufactures*; and even the *East-India Commodities*, brought in *five times* the *sum* he insisted on: He answered, That as it flow'd in, so like the *Tide* it had its *ebb* out, otherwise *England* would not hold its *Treasure*; it would come to an *immensity*, if but half a *Million* a year was added to *England*.

We then come to that part of his Assertion, That it is profitable for *England* to raise *Money* for them; and that he would prove thus: First, that *England* had been for many years a *Gainor* by their *Trade*, contrary to the common Opinion: And this point, I confess, he handled beyond my expectation; and it must be better *Heads*, than mine that can answer him.

First, he laid down, that *Ireland* took more of our *Manufactories*, and *Native Commodities*, than *Virginia*, our *Darling Plantation*; and that if we pleased, we might raise as great a *Revenue* by *Ireland*, as we do out of our *Tobacco*.

Then that we made above *two Millions Sterling* a year of their *Wool*; that by the *Act of Navigation* we had barr'd them from the use of all foreign *Shipping*, and that in effect we had prohibited them from *Trade* to our *foreign Plantations*; by which, whatever the gain of their *Trade* was, we had it by our *Shipping and Plantation-Commodities*: That they were prohibited by our *Acts of Parliament* from bringing any of their *Commodities* but what we stood in need of, or thing (as they set it out) so severe, as never used but to an *Enemy*. The *Native Commodities* never prohibited a *Country* in *Amity*; the most is to lay heavy *Duties* on them: But *Ireland* in its chiefest *Commodities* made a *Nuisance*. And to close all, he affirmed, that *Ireland* added to the *Trade* of *England* *sixte Millions* a year. All this he thought worth their securing. That



That the gaining the Kingdom would not do it; if the Inhabitants that were used to the Country, were not preserv'd, and sent thither again; That many had already sought Dwellings in foreign parts, and more were on the Wing. This is as much as I can remember of our Discourse, and I wanted one to oppose him; for from me he carried his Hypothesis.

Sixthly, As to your sixth Query, What the general Apprehensions of them are? I cannot give you a single Solution to that, since I find them differing so much among themselves: One Party, and those that were the latest Planters in that Kingdom, I find generally resolv'd to return no more, but rather bend their Thoughts for Carolina, Virginia, and New-England. These believe that Ireland will not soon be reduced, and that it will never be at quiet; for that the French lying so near it, and taking upon him the Guardianship of the pretended Prince of Wales, will ever be infesting that Kingdom; and that the Irish will be always ready to receive them: so that the quiet of Ireland will depend upon the success of the French. A successful Campaign with him, will raise a Tory Camp in Ireland; for that, they say, they have experience by three several Instances, in less than two years. First, upon the death of King Charles the Second, they got up in all parts of the Kingdom, not having patience to see what their Guardian Angel, the late King, would do for them. That was scarce quieted with the assurance of his being a Catholic Majesty; but upon Monmouth's appearing, they got up again; that was soon after pretty well laid by the arrival of that good Man the Earl of Clarendon; so they term him; and then up they got again, upon the arrival of Tyrconnel; so they say the Tories ever do upon the least.

least Change of Government. These are the Apprehensions of those they call *New Purchasers*, that came for *Ireland* since the *Act of Settlement*, which was made upon the Restoration of *Charles the Second*. Another set of them I find more resolute, and they are those they call *Cromwellians*: These are such as were *Soldiers* in that Conquest, or the Sons of them; a rough sturdy *People*, and full of indignation against the *Irish*, rendering them a *bloody*, but cowardly *People*, easily conquer'd, if fallen furiously upon. But the way now taken (they say) will put Courage in the *Irish*, who never saw themselves fear'd or treated like a formidable *Enemy* before, the *English* being more troubled to find than overcome them; and never considered odds, but thought them brave if they would engage them, being five to one: They instance the same in the few *English* that got together. Now those they call *Iniskilling-Men*, which were not of that place, but most of *Connaught*, the remains and off-spring of *Oliverians*, that were under the former Lord *Kingstone*, and headed by the young Lord his Son, who, they say, inherits his Father's Courage; and had he not been betrayed by *Lundy*, would have done great Things in *Ireland*, as his Men have done since, where less than twelve hundred half naked Men, routed five thousand of the flower of the *Irish Army*, posted in a most inaccessible place. This (they say) was three to one greater odds than our Army stands upon; and believe if they had been sent over under their own old Commanders, there would have been a good Account of *Ireland* by this time. This is the Opinion they have of themselves, and yet fancy the King will use them at last, and believe his Majesty would at first, but that they had *Enemies*, who gave

gave a false Account of them. For the *New Interest-Men*, they are sure not a *Man* but would venture his *Life* for their *Majesties* in any part of the *World*.

But to come to that which hath more *Authority* with it, and that is, they say, That when *Cromwel* landed in *Ireland*, the *English* and *British* had the chief of the Kingdom, *Dublin*, *Cork*, *Joughall*, *Kingsale*, and all the *North*, where there was stock of Cattel, and pretty store of Pillage near the Garisons.

That *Cromwel* made quick work, took *Drogheda*, and several places of moment in few *Weeks* after his landing; so that before the *Spring*, (he landing in *August*,) the whole Kingdom was in a manner in *Protestants Hands*; the *Irish* pent up in Garisons. And yet after all these advantages and opportunities of sowing *Corn*, when the War was over in *fifty One*, the *Famine*, and its usual Attendent, the *Plague*, swept away more than the *Sword* had done in all the *War* of the *Irish*, and many thousands of the *English*. In the City of *Dublin* there died in one year two and twenty thousand. There is a worse prospect now of the same fate, for that the *Protestants* have not an ear of *Corn* in the Kingdom; nor have the *Irish* much, scarce any *Winter-Corn*, for that at the season for sowing, they have been imbroil'd in *Arms*. Nor can there be any *Spring-Corn* considerable, for the same reason. From all which they infer, there must inevitably be a *Famine* next year; which will in the first place fall upon those *Protestants* that escape this *Winter*, many are perished already; for that the *Irish* keep the Men Prisoners, after having robb'd them of all they have, and leave the poor *Women* and *Children* starving in their Houses. Upon the whole, they conclude, That the Kingdom will



will be in a manner dispeopled, let what will now happen; and that those few, both of *English* and *Irish*, who escape the destroying *Angel* in *War*, *Famine*, and *Plague*, and live to see *Peace*, will yet perish for want of *Bread*; the Money of the Kingdom being already sent to *France* by the late *King*, and *Brass Farthings* left as *Half-Crowns* in the rooms of the *Silver*; so that they will have nothing to purchase Food.

They farther add, that after the last *Rebellion*, the Kingdom was sicker of *Money* than ever it was since; that *Corn* was much cheaper in *England*, than it is like to be now.

That then they had great quantities of *Corn* from *France*, now there can be none; and after all these Helps, (which now they will want,) yet great part of those left in *Irish* perished by *Famine*; and wanting of *People* to bury the dead, infected the Air, and brought the *Plague*, the *Irish* scarce covering their *Dead* with Earth. Some *Objections* I made to these desponding *Conjectures*, which were chiefly two: *First*, that it was not to be imagined but the *Irish* would keep some *Silver-Money*; and that in robbing the *English* they must get some.

To this I was answered, That the *Irish* are seldom Masters of *Money*, their Treasure being *Cattel*; that the course the late *King* took, was invincible to draw out every penny of *Silver* they had; for at the same time he proclaimed his *Brass Coin* to pay his *Army*, and to pass betwixt Man and Man, it was provided, That all his Revenue, as *Quit-Rent*, *Heartb-Money*, *Excise*, *Customs*, &c. should be paid in *Silver*, so that as long as there was a penny among them, it came into the *Treasury*.

For

For their having *Money* of the *English's*, or *Plate*, I find they are so ingenious, most of them, as to confess, they believe the *English* left little *Money* or *Plate* behind them.

My second Objection was, That though there were no *Trade*, yet in such a fertile Countrey it was easie for the *Irish* to get Roots, Hearbs, Milk, Flesh, and their great Food, Potatoes, which we see here in *England*, after once setting, are never to be got out of the Ground, so that of them they can never want.

To all which I was answered, That the *Irish* (for by the way it is granted, that the *English* will not be admitted, nor are able to doe any of these) are great strangers to Garden-Stuff; nor is there *Garden-Seeds* in the Kingdom, the *English* always fetching them from *England*.

*Milk*, it is true, is one part of their Summer's Provision, but they presume they will have as great want of *Cattel*, as *Corn*, especially *Cows*; for which they give me a reason, that carries Probability with it, though it be novel: They tell me, in *Ireland* the very *English* give little or no Fodder in Winter to their *black Cattel*, by which means their Cows, which they call *Gowneys*, that is, such as had not Calves the last Summer, being with Calf the Winter following, are best in flesh all the Winter; and being so, the hungry *Irish*, in regard there is no command of them, being Soldiers, and rambling where they please, fall upon these Cows, and by that means they are without *Cattel* to give them *Milk* next Summer; and for demonstration they say, That after the last War a *Milch Cow* in *Ireland* would yield *eight pounds*, when an *Ox* as big again, might be bought for *three*.

For their *Potatoes*, they say, it is a mistake to think that after being once set they need no more labour; they must be every year new dug, and dunged: And besides, these *Potatoes* come not in till next *Winter*, and these Gentlemen here agree, as is already past, that they will be all starved next Summer, and that such as do escape, will not be the *English*, for that they will first perish.

The quantity of *Corn* and *Beer* that was brought into *Ireland* in one year after the last *War*, is incredible, as they relate it. A Person of good Quality and Fortune told me, he was then a Merchant, and lived in *England*, but traded for *Ireland*, that he sent great quantities of *Wheat* and *Malt* himself; above *Ten thousand* of our *Quarters* in one Year went to *Waterford*; that to all *Parts* there went not less than *One hundred thousand Quarters* in one year; and if so much was wanting when there had been so much of the Kingdom in *Protestant Hands*, What will there be after an universal Ravage and Destruction; for so they conclude the Condition of that Kingdom?

I cannot omit the *Foot* of a *Discourse* I had with the most intelligent man I met among them; it was this:

*Ireland*, as it stood at the death of *Charles II.* he believed had about *Two millions* of *Souls*; a minute computation to that Gentleman's, who in a Pamphlet makes the *British Protestants* half that number, who were never accounted a fifth part of the whole, the *Irish* being thought near eight for one, but this Gentleman, who made his computation *Two millions*, supposes a dolefull account, that *Two thirds* will, by *Flight*, the *Sword*, *Famine*, and *Sickness*, be taken off before *Ireland* can be reduced, hoping it be done next *Summer*, there will then



then not remain *seven hundred thousand Souls* in the Kingdom ; allow them but two *Bushels a Mouth* for a year , which is but about *three farthings* worth of *Bread a day*, which allowance will *starve* more than feed ; yet at this rate, there must be *one hundred and seventy five thousand Quarters* of *Bread-Corn*, to keep their distressed *Remains* alive, besides the *Army*, that must be better provided for. I was startled at this Computation ; and when I went to make some *Objection*, I was stopped with this, That if the Deliverance of these *poor Creatures* happen to be greater than what he expected, then the Provision of *Corn* must be greater ; and that for help in the Kingdom, there was no Expectation considerable: it was more than could be expected, if they could find of any Sustenance to make up a Living. I find their Apprehensions very remote, as to the re-planting that Kingdom, grounded upon their Experience in *Oliver's* time ; which is this, That the reducing of that Kingdom happened to be just after the winding up of that fatal *Catastrophy* of the *Civil Wars* of *England* and *Scotland*, which obliged many *thousands* of the loyal Party to shift their Habitations, and that brought them for *Ireland*: There were also numbers that came from *New-England*, and other foreign *Plantations*, having Friends and Relations promoted in *Ireland*.

There was also such an absolute Conquest, and Power over the *Irish*, that they were rather numbred among the *Beasts* of the *Field*, than thought on as a *People* in a Possibility of disturbing the *Government*. Not five Men in the Kingdom restored to their *Estates*, the most of them transplanted into a *Country* they call *Connaught*, furrounded with the *Sea*, and a  
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great River ; so that it was not possible to have greater Security, and more Incourage ment than was at that time ; and yet after all this, for near *five years* after the Conquest , *Wales, Scotland, and England* , for some Provisions, were their Markets; and Land was set, some *years* after the laying down of *Arms*, for *forty Shillings* a year, that in *ten years* after, was set for *two hundreds pounds* a year : So then, if with all the Advantages that then attended *Ireland*, it was yet so many *years* in rising to a *bare Living* , how will it be now improved, when none of those Advantages attend it, but just the contrary. They name Particulars, which I shall not trouble you with, being easily understood.

I have given you the Sentiments of *two* sets of these People, I now come to a third ; for I find them of *three* distinct *Interests* and Affections one to the other : These last are of the *Old Interest*, and seem to be more affected to *Ireland*, than either of the former , and think it the *Paradise of the Earth* ; would willingly engage their Lives in that War, but desire to be excused from the Bravery of the Gentlemen before-mentioned.

They have better hopes of *Ireland* ; have, with their *own*, the *Remarks* of their *Ancestors* ; how frequent the *Rebellions* of *Ireland* have been, and yet the Country soon made habitable again. They confess it looks worse now than ever ; and that the *Irish* were never a formidable *Enemy* before ; and therefore they fear the Country will be waste before it be reduced. They have the same Apprehensions with the former, of the *French* infesting the Western and Southern Parts of the Kingdom , and fear, above all, the *pardoning* the Men of *Estates*, which they say was ever the

the ruine of that Kingdom: The *Irish Grandees*, first by *Bribes*, and, in process of time, by *Marriage* into *English Families*, got such Friends in the Court of *England*, that whatever *Rebellion* happened, they always had some of their great Men to head it, and, in the whole, or part, pardon'd, when they had done the like they fear now: And if any one of the great *Clanns* doth get his Estate, he will be, upon any opportunity a *Head to new Rebellions*: But if they be quite extirpate, I mean the Men of Estates, then they fear nothing, but, in the end, to be the better for this *War*, which, they hope, will make a lasting Settlement for that Kingdom.

I had almost forgot a remarkable difference in *Opinion* I find between these *Gentlemen*, and those of the *New Interest*: They of the *New* believe nothing will contribute more to the enriching that Kingdom, than the bringing in *Foreigners*, *Dutch*, *French*, and of any Nation, that are of the *reformed Religion*; but those of the *Old Interest*, that are the *Off-spring* of the *first English* that went for *Ireland*, have differing Sentiments, and say, they had rather have the *slavish Irish*, than the *Rhedomontado French*, or stubborn *Dutch*, that they cannot govern; and I find the old *English* of *Ireland* have always been jealous of *new Comers*, which makes a division among the People.

*Seventhly*, I now come to the *seventh Query*, what the Resolution of them in general is, and of that I can give no certain Account, since they seem not fixed themselves; some despairing, others in hopes, and the rest resolute, to take their Fortunes there: But by the nearest Computation I can make, the greatest numbers



bers are in condition neither to go, nor stay, having nothing here, and have lost all *there*. These are Men, whose Estates lay all in *Stock*. It would hardly be credited, how much these *Farmers* exceed *ours* in their *Stock*; it being common for Men there of not a penny *Free-hold*, to have five hundred Head of black Cattel, and a thousand Sheep. Many of two and three thousand pounds worth of *Stock*, all which being lost, and they being bred to no other Employment, are in a helpless Condition, their Misfortune such as I never read any thing like it in *Story*, exceeding the Cruelty of the most unchristian Government.

They were no ways engaged against the *late King*; no not so much as pretenders to any of the *Irish Estates*, but many of them *Tenants* to the *Irish*, pretended (as some of them tell me) to be zealous for the *late King*, in hopes, by that Means, to keep their *Stock*, but all would not do: Every thing they had swept away; and even those that were protected, and stay'd there, in Obedience to his Proclamation, were all alike used. Now what Government under the *Copes* of *Heaven* did ever exert such *Authority*, that Obedience under it should be no Security. I had like to have wish'd those *Gentlemen* who, under pretence of Conscience, advocate his *Cause* that doth all this, were under his *Government*: But God forbid there should be more *Martyrs*, or *Sacrifices* to *Moloch*; for they cannot be called *Martyrs*, that suffer without refusing any so much as pretended *Law*. Those *Gentlemen* that had real Estates, and are here in *England*, I find most of them in want of *Money*, as much as those that had all in *Personal Estates*, having spent all they brought with them, which could not be much, by their  
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own Computation, of having spent *eight hundred thousand pounds* in this Kingdom, which is *twenty pounds* a Family, for *forty thousand* Families (they say) are in *England*; but I take their Computation of Expence to be modest, and much short of what such numbers must have spent in *six and nine Months*, as most of them have been here.

I have no more to add, having given you as impartial an Account to all your *Queries* as possible, both of the *People*, their *Humors*, and present *Condition*; I beg your pardoning my *Vanity*, if I say, that I believe, you have it in this, with more *Indifferency*, than it can be had from any of themselves: Out of them all I have gathered this Relation, which I presume none of them will arraign.

I know you will expect my *Opinion*, and *Remarks* upon the whole of my Observations, which are more than I could commit to Writing; and this is a greater Difficulty than all the rest, which is no more than Matter of Fact: But this of making critical Observations, is a work of Judgment, to which I have but a slender pretence; however my Thoughts, such as they are, you have as follows.

For the *People*, you have their *Character* in the first *Paragraph* of their Original: They are, by all the Account that ever I meet with, from those that have been among them in *Ireland*, the most hospitable *People* in the World, and that Humour carries them above their Condition in their Expence; they generally complain of the strait *Hands* of *England*, especially in the Country.

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What will become of them, is past my Understanding, they seem too many for *England* to maintain ; yet at the same time, I see no other way to preserve them from starving. It is true, we have been yet at no Charge with those of best Quality, and, for ought I see, in greatest want : I wish the Pride of some of them, and the narrowness of our *Hearts*, have not already sent some into another World, that rather pine away than beg ; I have heard of *one*, a Man of *five hundred* a year, that did so.

I am loth to censure Men in Affliction ; yet why those of the *North*, whose Estates are all *free* and quiet, don't return, is unaccountable : I think them Enemies to their *Country-men*, that have yet no Estates to go unto ; for that it is natural for us to believe, they are not in want, who will not go to their own Estates ; and some may have the same Thoughts of such as cannot.

It would be well for these poor *Gentlemen* that are in want, if these Men were distinguished ; for while they are in *England*, the other will be the less considered.

I confess, it was at first a surprize to me, that Men who talk of *hundreds*, and *thousands* a year, in the *North* of *Ireland*, should think themselves entituled to the *Charity* of the *Parliament* ; but enquiring into the Matter, I found these *Gentlemen* were some of them *Livers* here before this deprivation, and that for their Pleasures. Others (I may say most of them) are making *Interest* for Employments, and to be *privy Counsellors* ; how agreeable this is,  
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for Men to neglect their common Interest; leave their *Brethren* there in Misery; and now they might help, and encourage them by their return, stay here to enjoy their Pleasure, and make themselves great Men, you may judge.

They put a hard Task on the *King*, and *People* of *England*, to conquer their Country for them, if they will not at least sit down in it, as fast as it is recovered; so that the *King's Army* may pursue their Victories, and not stay to keep the Country, as they get it; they to whom the Land belongs may sure do that, or else the *King* must raise another *Army*.

There is no comparison to be made with *Cromwell's Conquest*, and this; he found *three Protestant Armies* in the Kingdom, all the *North* in their Hands, and most of the chief Cities and Ports in the Kingdom: The Enemy a shabby miserable *People*, with very few *Arms*, and less *Ammunition*, never appeared in the Field, but like *Tories*; so as the Gentlement of *Ireland* say themselves, their Trouble was to find them: But now it is not so; they have a numerous *Army*, their pretended King in the Head of them, and all the Kingdom in their Hands, but the *North*, that his Majesty's Forces have recovered back; so that I doubt they go too fast, that think we might have regained *Ireland* last Summer. I most lament the poor *Protestants* that are in the *Irish Hands*, by what I can understand, they must inevitably perish this *Winter*, for that they have nothing of their own: And what can be expected

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from such barbarous Enemies as the *Irish*, who in the last Rebellion, murdered *Two hundred thousand Persons*, using all manner of exquisite Tortures, and now have the more accomplished way of the *French*, their *Masters*, to starve the *Hereticks*.

There seems no prospect for the return of any of the *People of Ireland* untill next Summer, except those of the *North* go to their Estates; if they do, we shall still have *three fourths* left on our hands; and if they at a moderate Computation could not live these *six months* past for *Six hundred thousand Pounds*, How will they for the future? If they live but with the Allowance of Prisoners, *Fifty thousand Pounds per Month* will not defray the Charge: And this is not all; suppose we keep them alive untill next Summer, and then they are restored to *Ireland*, there they must have *Bread*, and considering the Want of our usual *Granary*, *France*, and our great Expence for Naval Provisions, and that Corn is already rising, I cannot see how *England* can spare any, *Scotland* can give but a small Help; so then our Expectation must be from the *East-Sea*, and considering that all *Europe* is in Arms, the Expence of Corn will be greater than in the memory of Man, which will raise the Price so, that one Year's Provision of Grain, allowing but *one Third* of the *People of Ireland* to be alive the next Year, may reasonably be supposed to cost a *Million Sterling*; all which must come out of the Treasury of *England*, or those People will perish by Famine. This you may think (as I doubt not most do) a remote

more Prediction, and may as well not be, as come to pass, I could wish it were so; but methinks, it is a poor Confutation, only to say, *It will not be*, and yet give not so much as Probability for the contrary, when for my Assertion there is plain Demonstration, and former Experience.

But you will then say, *What will be the end of all this, and where the Remedy?*

If it were in my Province, I could answer in point the several ways that are open for it, which they at the *Helm* no doubt have before them.

To comply with your Desire, and since all I have said is but matter of Discourse, not Enquiries into Government, much less Dictates to it, I shall give you my Thoughts in two Particulars.

*First*, That this Course taken by our Army in Ireland, in that we call delay, is the best Expedient to preserve that Kingdom from being depopulated, I mean of the common *Irish*; for it seems of Consequence to preserve them, and they will (if former Experience has any weight) soon become demeanable to the *English* Government, if their *Heads* are removed from them.

Now had our Army, as soon as they landed, attacked these *People*; there would have been in Probability great Destruction of them; and those that were left, thereby made desperate, and told by their *Leaders*, nothing but Destruction would attend them, if they did not fight it out; and nothing makes a Coward stout like Necessity: If Death attend on all *Parts*, his only hope is the Death of his *Enemy*, and



that makes him fight: Now this hazard is prevented, by giving them time to consider their Danger, and offering them Terms of Peace, and Enjoyment of all their Properties: I still mean the common *People*; for the Landed Men, I find by all Hands, are never to be restored to their *Estates*: But the Commonalty are of absolute use in the Kingdom; and they are, as the *Mantle thrown off* tells us, Followers of their *Lands*; whoever commands the *one*, hath the *other*. And I have heard the Gentlemen of *Ireland* say, that their *Irish Tenants* would in their common Discourse say, That if the *English* had an Army to protect them, swearing the common *Oath*, by their *Souls*, they would keep their *Cabins*, and not fight to get *Land* for other Men: They must be *Slaves*, let who will have it, and worse used by the *Irish* than *English Landlords*. And however it is generally said, That these poor *People* go voluntarily into their *Army*; the most judicious of the *Irish* Gentlemen I meet with, say, it is a force upon the greatest part of them; and that it is so, I believe may be the Reason of *Duke Schomberg's* taking the *Methods*, which vulgar Heads condemn; but in the end, may be found of great Advantage to that Kingdom: For that it is more than probable, great part of the *late King's Army*, will from their Winter-Quarters run home to their *Cabins* from a *Summers*, this year's *Service* having given them enough of the Discipline of *War*.

¶ For by the way, I find the *Irish* marry very young, so that of their Infantry, there is not one  
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of *ten* a single Man, from whence I make this Remark, That the Reason which is usually given for the *Irish*, not fighting so well in their own *Country*, as in *foreign Parts*, is not all concluded in knowing where to run upon a Rout, but it seems as much Reason, that they run to their *Wives*.

Upon the Whole, it then seems to me of weight, that the *Irish* have this *Winter* given them to run away in: And though I am no Prophet, yet do predict we shall have a slender Account *next Spring* of the *Irish Army*; and it seems undeniable, that this way of bringing in the *Irish*, will preserve that Kingdom, both in its Provisions and *People*; for that the *Irish* will by this means preserve all they can, since they will have hopes to enjoy them under their old *Masters*, the *English*.

*Secondly*, That which will make the Settlement of that Kingdom easie, and speedy, may be the present Return of those that fled from it; they talk of many thousands in *England*, and, no doubt, are Men of Courage, and fit for Action; and although I cannot see any need of Enlarging His Majesties Troups there, yet these Gentlemen would be of great Use in that Kingdom, both to plant, and secure the Countrey, as it falls into His Majesty's Hands; they tell me near half the Kingdom is so already, as to the *Acres*, though the chief *Towns* are not: All *Ulster*, and a great part of *Connaught* may be quietly possessed by His Majesties loyal Subjects. Now if they were there,  
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all the foregoing Fears were at an end; and that of the great Charge those Gentlemen would be to *England*, if they live upon the Charity of the Kingdom.

I have heard several of them that expect the Benevolence of the Parliament say, That if they had but a quarter of what they have spent since they came into *England*, to carry them back, they would not tarry a day longer. The House of Commons (they say) are now upon Addressing their Majesties in their behalf for Sixty thousand Pounds for a Year; if that were made an Hundred thousand Pounds, and paid them in one entire Summ, by what I can perceive, they would give us no farther Trouble: If they have spent eight times the sum here, we may afford it; and as remote as some think that Kingdom looks, I have the Faith to believe we shall see that Work done in time, to visit *Monsieur* next Summer with greatest part of that Army.

I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.



